

648 Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural
177 contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and
731 the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic
upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some
4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from
the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in
collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The
temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

797 Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is
provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a
fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with
traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the
resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a
871 system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government
975 Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European
and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers
are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than
their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to
Standard 4.

177 There is currently some covert aggression towards the European
563 settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The
history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent
misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to
strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement
of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling.
Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later
government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance
in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led
to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last
war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but
they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relation-
ship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican
[797] church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial
relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest
a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva
regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received
and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear
to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers
attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and tempera-
ment to particular local groups. This process of one group
classifying another into psychological types provides a working
basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a
stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed charac-
teristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed
as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

177 instituting numerous training programmes for the development of
657 skills hitherto unknown to Papuans, and by setting up organisations
647 in which Papuans wield a limited amount of political and administrative
responsibility. It suffices, for my present purpose, to enumerate
modern roles, performed by Papuans, with which the people of Sivepe
came into contact during the year of my field study.

[777] In the church, Papuans now play not only the role of mission
teacher, but also of priest (as Fr. Albert McLaren) and Bishop (as
the Most Rev. George Ambo). Fr. Albert was the priest of the local
parish, while the Bishop paid one visit to the district during the
year, namely for the consecration of the church at Duve, a great
formal occasion attended by at least 1,000 people, from the whole
of the Sasembata district.

[625] Village constables exist no longer, but their place has been
taken by the Local Government Council. Two of the councillors were
regular visitors at Sivepe; the sanitary inspector appointed by
the council, who lived at Garombi, came even more frequently, while
many Sivepe people had occasion, during the year, to visit the
Council chambers at Higaturu, where all officials are Papuan, with
the exception of one European who acts as Advisory Officer to the
Council and also as Magistrate for Native Court cases. Locally we
had an officer named "Committee," which meant that he was a member
of a committee appointed by the local councillor to enforce council
regulations in the villages. Each village has one committee member
whose tasks are not unlike those of the village constable, though
the concept of the role is rather different, and will be discussed
below.

[759] While the only medical role allotted to Papuans at the time
of the eruption was that of orderly, nowadays there are Papuan
physicians, two of them in the Northern District. One of them is
medical officer for the district and the other, a woman, is attached
to the hospital at Saiho. An increasing number of Papuans are
being trained as Assistant Medical Officer, a five-year course. One
of the graduates was attached to the mission hospital and aid post
at Sasembata. Aid posts have been established by the government in
many Orokaiva villages and manned by aid post orderlies who were
trained in the Saiho Aid Post Training School. Inonda village is
served by an orderly trained under this scheme (stationed at Hohota,
three miles away), but the training scheme has been discontinued
in favour of a more efficient scheme. The training of Papuan nurses
started in 1958 while nursing aide training has started more recently.
In addition to general training, these nurses are given an intensive
course in maternal and child health.

● [875] The same movement into senior statuses was characteristic of
Papuan educational personnel. First, the training given to mission
teachers before the eruption was in the main ecclesiastical, while
in the Northern District in 1966, 3% had been through at least one
year of formal teacher training; a smaller number had obtained a

177 higher certificate after a two-year course, while various teacher
657 training programmes were involving a number of them. Furthermore,
647 the inspector in charge of the school and, after January, 1967, also
the District Inspector of Schools was a Papuan. Thus, in the Church
as well as in the Health and Education Department, Papuans were in
actual administrative control over Northern District operations,
with white personnel nominally their subordinates. The term
"nominally" must be applied to the relative rank of Papuan controllers
and expatriate subordinates, because the latter are still receiving
a very much higher salary. Nonetheless, the new situation definitely
sets up a hierarchy, with Papuans at senior levels, and the village
people are in official contact with them.

[631] I shall give two further examples of contacts with Papuan
public servants. The first was with a clerk sent out by the
Department of Lands, whose task it was to organise the establishment
of boundaries between the wards. This man was an Orokaiva, from
Jegarata, who explained the purpose of the boundaries in the Orokaiva
language, at a meeting held in Garombi and supposedly attended by
all the villages in the ward. A spirited discussion took place,
the people suggested village representatives, the clerk accepted
the representatives proposed for Sivepe and Garombi, but was non-
committal over the other two, as he saw Isoge and Binduta were
insufficiently represented. He chewed betelnut with the people;
the whole procedure was matter-of-fact and businesslike, and no
covering-up was attempted for the two ill-represented villages.
[176] The absence of an interpreter, the use of Orokaiva instead of the
lingua franca (Moru), the free use of betelnut, the fact that we
all sat on mats together--all this established an easy bridge
between government and people.

242 During the same period, a good deal of agricultural extension
work was in progress in the nearby village of Sasembata. Here
177 again, the day-to-day instruction was given by two Northern District
Papuans, agricultural assistants, in a rather more junior position
to the Lands Department clerk. These two young men were definitely
supervised by an expatriate officer; they were staying in Sasembata
village for awhile and came over to Sivepe one night for a small
feast and a dance. Though they were both Aiga, they mixed easily
with their Orokaiva agemates, on a basis of equality and familiarity.
They were the guests of a third agricultural assistant, who belonged
to Sasembata village but were working for the Department at Saiho.
This young man gave me a description of the scope of agricultural
development (a rubber cooperative) proceeding in Sasembata. He had
a mature and responsible understanding of the project.

657 Finally, Papuan government drivers had highly significant
647 though informal contacts with villagers. These men, highly skilled
at negotiating the difficult roads of the Northern District, have
177 the task of driving government personnel where they wish to go and
often travel unaccompanied by officers to collect personnel or cargo.

58

657 Employed rather widely over the last decade or so, they have a
647 responsible job, for which the qualifications include a reasonably
177 high standard of education. In Orokaiva eyes, these men enjoy high
status, as they have permanent, relatively highly paid positions
and above all, because they control one of the most coveted European
resources, namely motor transport. They very often have the power
[494] to offer transport to Orokaiva travellers; their favours are
eagerly sought; they carefully choose the men for whom they will
stop on the road: kinsmen, residents of closely related villages,
other men of high status.

Orokaiva accord high status to all Papuan employees of the
government and the missions; one of the main reasons why men become,
for instance, mission teachers is the high status they thus acquire
in the villages where they are posted. This is so in spite of their
very low pay; only recently has this low pay begun to deter recruits--
due to the greater availability of higher-paid non-manual jobs for
Papua. Mission teachers at Sasembata still regard themselves as
aristocrats, who will speak somewhat deprecatingly of "the village
people" and address them with some slight condescension. The best
of them are most valuable as educators, not only in the religious
sphere, but also through their knowledge of the outside world which
they spread through their friendships with congenial villagers in
the parish. They will also spread knowledge of elements of the
culture of their own district, e.g., dances and songs, which are
easily introduced into local repertoires. Most of the Sasembata
mission teachers came from the Motu-speaking coastal district. One
[797] problem with the mission stations has been, especially on the
larger stations, that they develop into a sort of village of their
own, a tight community with a deep conviction of its own superiority,
not only because it is a mission village, but also because it is
a Motu village and the Motu regard the Orokaiva as barbarians.

All the functionaries discussed so far are directly under
the control of Australian institutions--the government and the
church. The second category to be considered are Papuans playing
roles for which they are elected or appointed by other Papuans.
Within this category fall the members and officers of the Higaturu
Local Government Council, the directors and manager of the coffee
producers' cooperative, the local Member of the House of Assembly.
None of these roles existed at the time of the eruption; they were
created as part of the Australian policy, inaugurated in the 1950's,
of preparing Papuans for at least local self-government and limited
management of their own affairs. Though the views expressed by
these officials hardly differed from those of the Government and
Mission men, the Orokaiva received them much more warmly in their
villages. Especially the councillors had to ingratiate themselves,
their office being elective, and they handed cigarettes around.
They were trusted far more than the government officials because
the villagers felt they had some power over them; they were given
local information withheld from the others.

[177] the people. He was the only white man in the district (omitting the anthropologists) who actually did this. Finally, some people [464] of Sasembata district were familiar with taupa as workers and in personal service, as cookboys, housegirls, etc. outside the village.

● [875] The only taupa residents in the district were the head teacher and his wife; they had daily personal contact with village people especially because they bought vegetable produce for the mission, while people also approached them with a multitude of minor problems, e.g., pressure lamps that did not work, troubles at school, help needed with sports or the sewing programme of the women's club, etc. Most Sivepe men and nearly all the women were too shy to approach them. The head teacher used the Papuan priest as an intermediary when he had to approach Sivepe men when help was needed for school buildings, or when land was needed for the gardens of the mission teachers. The other taupa came to the district no more often than once or twice a year; the doctor attended patients only at Saiho; the magistrate sat at Higaturu; the nearest white planter was at Awala.

657 Characteristically, contact between the taupa and villagers occurs either through the mediation of Papuan functionaries--and it is thus that basic ideas are mostly communicated to Orokaiva [177] leaders and groups--or directly, when taupa finds it inexpedient to delegate decisions on problems affecting individuals. This tendency [242] to deal with individuals rather than leaders or corporate groups is self-evident from the roles of many taupa (educational, medical, judicial) but I noticed it also in, for instance, agricultural extension work. Here the emphasis was on the educating of individual growers. The administration is not in favour of cooperative cash-cropping ventures, so that dealings are of necessity mostly with individuals. When it is desired to indoctrinate groups, the most useful channel at the present time is the Higaturu Council, so that the taupa's message reaches the people through an Orokaiva intermediary. The patrol officer, when visiting a village, for instance for census purposes, tends to deal with his audience in three types of ways: (a) he deals directly with the "committee" for the formal arrangements of calling the people together and to obtain what facilities he needs for his work; (b) he makes a speech expressing the desires of the government, to the assembled people; (c) he addresses individually those individuals against whom he has complaints, and he does this in front of the assembled people. These individuals, on the occasion I witnessed, received a reprimand, but they might also be arrested and jailed. This kind of meeting is held yearly in every village.

Undoubtedly, the patrol officer consults both with the councillor and the committee member in charge of the village. It was clear from his treatment of the complaints on his list that he had not only consulted, but also trusted these two local leaders. The cases with which he dealt were all connected with the policy of

871 According to the Papua Report, "The core of the curriculum is training in the basic skills of communication and mathematics." (1966: 100) Of these two subject areas, mathematics is taught by a syllabus which will probably be widely applauded by educationalists. Australia has for some years made important research contributions to mathematical education. One of the most outstanding of Australian educators, Dr. Z. P. Dienes, was invited in 1964 to prepare a mathematics syllabus for Territory schools, introducing the "new mathematics approach." In 1966, this syllabus became officially accepted and the basis of the government examinations. Short courses for practising teachers were held, in the Northern District, during the summer holidays of 1966-67. [875] The Australian mission teacher in charge of Sasembata school also went and came back with a tale which will not surprise connoisseurs of the "new mathematics": he found that the Papuan teachers grasped the principles more quickly than those, like himself, who had been well educated in "traditional" mathematics.

871 In the language field, the Australians have taken the fateful
191 decision to make English the language of instruction in schools and the "universal language in the Territory." This is not the place to discuss this strange decision to which S. A. Wurm has recently devoted a clear and authoritative critique which seems to me unanswerable. (1966: 135-148) The key sentence of this critique is that the English language "constitutes a reference system to a culture whose very essence is completely alien to the natives, and it abounds in concepts they cannot even begin to understand on first being confronted by them." The textbooks used in the primary school attempt to overcome this difficulty by an emphasis on formal English, using the structural method, and devoting much attention to the memorising and to some extent the manipulation and transformation of pattern sentences. There is heavy reliance on memory work and very much less reliance on conversational English and creative expression. The teachers explained to me that this bias was inevitable in view of examination pressures. It was amazing, nonetheless, to hear Standard 6 students learning very simple pattern sentences by rote by the whole class saying 20 times or more in unison: "We are going to Paris" (wherever that is). I am not critical at all of the teachers at the Sasembata school, who achieved an impressively high percentage of passes (far above the average) in the government examinations. It is not difficult to understand, however, that these students could not communicate anything very useful in English to, for instance, myself and my wife. The system is, of necessity, a great waste of the children's intelligence. The small minority who later go to Port Moresby or enter European employment will find their knowledge of English useful but the great majority, who need to be equipped for a life in Sivepe and surrounding villages, do not benefit so much from the content of their lessons as from literacy (in their own vernacular), from their experience of the school situation, its relationships and values, and many incidental observations of white customs and attitudes which are most influential acculturative

191 experiences. The problem remains how ideas bearing on social and
[871] economic development can be systematically communicated. When I
asked Orokaiva people what language they thought ought to be made
official after independence is granted, English was hardly ever
suggested. Some said Motu, others Fidgin. I was impressed, however,
with the meticulous care the Orokaiva bestow upon their own vernacular.
212 Most of my informants could help me to get Orokaiva texts spelled
124 correctly (and their advice hardly ever conflicted); they were most
precise about correcting my grammar and would laugh irrepressibly when
a man made a grammatical slip in a speech recorded on tape--this was
121 a joke for days. I would therefore agree with Wurm that a language
such as Orokaiva (spoken by at least 25,000) should be used for literacy
work and for elementary education.

797 Teachers are trained both in the mission and the government
875 system, but the mission system is primarily aimed at training in
Bible knowledge, religious doctrine and Christian values. In the early
years of the mission any promising pupil, with two or more years of
elementary schooling, might be chosen for training as a mission teacher.
Certainly he would get some coaching in how to teach school, but the
emphasis was above all religious. More recently, a number of courses
were set up by government and mission teachers were encouraged to enter
for such courses. The A course is open to men with a Standard 6
education and takes one year. The B course is open to men with a
Form 2 education and takes two years. The administration insists
on an A certificate as a minimum qualification; in the Northern
District, new appointees were usually expected to have a B certificate.
The mission is less fortunate; in 1966 in the Northern District, only
97 out of 274 mission teachers had either an A or a B certificate. Out
of the Sasmbata staff of 12, five were trained; out of the Hohota
staff of four, one was trained.

875 The educational qualifications of the teachers are one more
reason why it is hard to teach with English as the language of instruction;
191 most of these teachers speak little English themselves. English is
their third-best language (next to vernacular and lingua franca)
and most of them, even if they come from other districts, will still
have more command of Orokaiva and Motu than of English. Many of those
at Sasmbata came from the Coastal district so that their vernacular
was not Orokaiva, but a tongue closely akin to Orokaiva. Those who
meet their pupils outside school would not speak English to them
then, this being the least effective way they would have of communicating
with each other.

875 Teachers' salaries are a subject that has continued to puzzle
465 me. Government teachers are paid according to a scale the bottom of
which, in 1965, was \$480 per annum. The mission pays \$4 per month to
Papuan teachers and \$12 per month to expatriate teachers. In addition
all mission teachers receive free housing, some gardening land to grow
taro, occasional distribution of fringe benefits, such as Christmas
gifts of used clothing from Australian supporters of the mission. In

875 spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit
[465] certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These
men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious
aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a
654 grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who
held A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from
797 \$240 per annum to \$1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin
875 colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy
far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of
the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the
teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and
well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the
government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or
not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission
spends the grants-in-aid.

871 Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and
receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools.
[377] Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students
at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils
to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum
standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision
was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school
texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been
supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be
class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English,
Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available
[207] over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is
comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and
produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most
teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965,
38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

652 In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was
871 expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of
the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them
into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions
knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for
the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged,
that Iapuan passively accept education as a handout and feel no
obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva
parents, and notably those of Sivepe, are constantly making substantial
contributions. The head teacher at Sasembata told me that in 1966-67
he had received \$300 in financial contributions as well as a great
deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new
teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials
necessary for these projects including sago, thatch and blackpalm flooring--
both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well.
These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a
good deal more than the tax of \$1 per child the head teacher was

CHAPTER VII: Mission Welfare Efforts

Section 1: Mission and Community

797 The mission at Sasembata formed a kind of community of its own.
361 From the ground plan of the mission station (Map XI) it will be seen
that it differs somewhat from a village layout. In order to grasp
its essentially Orokaiva nature, I shall have to compare the station
with others I saw: at Hohorita, at Waseta, Isivita, etc. The Church
and cross always occupy a central position. The houses at Hohorita
and most other stations are in two facing rows, just as in an Orokaiva
village, but at Sasembata the central field is so wide that this did
not develop. The position of the church in the centre rather reminded
me of the position in which Orokaiva build their feast houses; these
are always in the central space facing away from Mount Lamington with
a sizeable open area in front. The houses tend to be a little bigger
than those in the villages. Since the craze for timber houses started,
the mission lost no time in replacing its own teachers' houses with
timber ones. Materials for these were always supplied by villagers.

875 It was traditional for villagers also to supply teachers with
425 land for growing taro. At Sasembata, the mission found it hard to
797 get this land; it would be lent from year to year, but never, as the
head teacher would have liked, on a permanent basis. The Papuan
priest was rather put out over this and talked about leaving, for that
reason. This difficulty over land was not, as the head teacher
supposed, a sign of meanness, but rather of the continuing power
struggle between people and mission.

797 This power struggle is best understood as a variant of the kind
of rivalry that exists between any two villages, except that the mission
station was a village of a special kind. Between the time it was
first founded (in 1945) and the eruption, the staff was entirely
Papuan. The eruption led to no defection but to a strengthening of
[731] the bonds between church and people, partly because of the Orokaiva
[784] interpretation of the disaster (which emphasized the powers of the
Christian God) and partly because of the interpretation of mission
operations in the affected areas. After 1951, the station and the
school were much enlarged, and a European head teacher and a European
nurse were assigned to Sasembata. These white missionaries would
negotiate directly with the village men and obtain what help they
needed--labour, materials, land--in exchange for their educational,
medical and religious services. In 1955, a Papuan priest was
attached to Sasembata. He gradually gathered round him a number of
teachers from his own language area (the coastal Motu language) and

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 10--Analyst]

Section 4: Social Services

797 The mission contribution to health and education has been set out in the previous chapter. It is of course the mission rather than the government which has pioneered the social services in the Territory. The first contact the Orokaiva had with Western medicine and education was through the mission sisters and the teachers trained, however inadequately, by the mission. The scholarly inadequacies of the mission teachers, though regretted, had not marred the primary aim of the church which was to inculcate Christian values and introduce some acquaintance with the arts of civilisation. If before the second world war, education was not viewed by the mission as a weapon in the struggle for economic development, it must be remembered that economic development of the Papuans was not deliberately pursued as an objective by the government or any other influential group in the Territory.

797 At the present time, mission education poses a dilemma. The government school inspectors express their concern over the generally low academic standard of the smaller mission schools. It has now 891 been established as a rough rule that schools, in order to receive 895 government approval (and therefore financial assistance and examination facilities), should have a ratio of trained teachers of at least one in three. The term trained is defined, for the benefit of the mission schools, as meaning the possession of an A certificate. Over the whole of the Northern District, one in three is approximately the average.

797 There has been no case where the government has actually caused a school to close down. Such action would certainly greatly anger the 891 Anglican authorities, who argue with some force that the government has no practical means to replace the educational service of the missions. It lacks trained personnel, just as much as the mission does. Moreover, it is far more expensive to conduct a government school than a mission school and the government cannot afford this extra expense. Finally the mission argues that for the Papuan, as an essentially religious person, education ought not to be divorced from religion.

895 Meanwhile, the government is rapidly upgrading its own standards of training. It restricts to the utmost the intake of teachers with 657 A certificates and encourages, by means of salary and other incentives, the obtaining of B and C certificates. It is gradually widening the scale of its operations. At the same time, the government is performing a most valuable service by giving refresher courses to practising mission teachers, thus improving their knowledge and giving them a more professional attitude to their teaching tasks. I watched Sasembata teachers who went to these courses which certainly provided much stimulus. In Moraita, the mission conducted special classes for adults who lacked a standard 6 education. These were mostly attended by mission teachers who thus became qualified to do further study toward a teacher's certificate. The mission conducted some teachers

875 training schools which prepared students for examinations for these
657 certificates.

875 Though many men with teacher's certificates and advanced
797 medical training take up positions with the government, where salaries
are far higher, there is still a considerable inflow of qualified
Papuan into the mission ranks. One reason for this may perhaps be
found in the sketch I gave earlier in this chapter of a typical mission
station settlement. The educated man who takes up a job with the
mission receives his reward, not only in the satisfaction of religious
service and the approbation of the mission towards which he is usually
obliged for his education, but also an assured social status in a
community in which he can feel thoroughly at home and can set up the
type of social relationships to which he is accustomed. A government
position on the other hand tends to isolate and dehabilitate teachers
and hospital workers and thus be less satisfying socially.

872 Finally, it should be stressed that the mission is responsible
873 for the education of Papua's educational élite. Martyrs School, once
built at Sangara where it was destroyed by the eruption, and now
established just outside Aganahambo, prides itself on a higher academic
standard than any of the other secondary schools of the Northern
District. It is able to choose the most proficient of the products
of the primary school system, not only in the Northern District, but
in the whole of Papua. One man in Sivepe and one in Inonda had been
to this school but neither had continued to the secondary Forms. But
the church-educated élite will dominate the Northern District for
some years to come, until the graduates from the new University of
Papua New Guinea will take over this status.

166

177 individual names to become part of village history. The anthropologists
[657] who had been in the two villages, under the auspices of A.N.U., were
[125] all very well remembered by name. When we included in a questionnaire
a request for the names of Europeans our informants knew well, we were
given a list including all the anthropologists, by their first names, and nobody else. This was almost a standard reaction. I am not at all sure that this close acquaintance made the anthropologists into key figures in development or that they were more influential in socio-economic development than the mission and government servants who, though anonymous, may have achieved more in this direction. A.N.U. personnel have made presents of coffee hullers, both in Sivepe and Inonda; one anthropologist taught his key informant in Inonda to drive a car, as a result of which this man found a permanent job with the administration. These certainly were tangible moves in the direction of economic progress.

177 I found that among the Orokaiva, unlike the New Zealand Maori,
123 I was never asked my opinion when some community decision was to be made nor was any greater interest displayed in the views of my predecessors. I was usually told when something had been decided (and decisions almost always seemed to be reached in my absence) and naturally I always expressed pleasure at receiving the information. The pattern was different only when I myself was directly involved. On the other hand my participation in community activities was sought and much appreciated. Our behaviour was closely observed and some minor innovations in housekeeping (the making of washing lines, airing of blankets, etc.) may be due to my wife. Everybody seemed concerned that our presence should not disturb the precarious balance of power--and that we should be given no power. This suited my own purpose.

If the anthropologists may nonetheless perhaps be classed as key personalities, it is because Orokaiva attach special importance on the kind of relationships that are thus established with whites. I have already mentioned some hints we received that we might be returned ancestors; even if imagination does not go so far, the daily relationship established with the anthropologists comes close to what Orokaiva would regard as tolerable and human. It is in the texture of life that grows up between the population and the anthropologist rather than specific innovations that the importance of his visit lies; perhaps without realising it, he nurtures an ideology.

875 One of the significant mediators during my time in Sivepe was
657 the head teacher of Sasembata school. His case will provide an example of the dangers of generalising about expatriates who are in fact an extremely complex group very imperfectly known. This man, aged about 28, had led a somewhat bohemian life in Australia, as a photographer, broadcaster and advertising agent. His decision to join the New Guinea mission was in part a conversion, in part a search for identity, in part a search for an assured place in the world. He married a mission teacher met in New Guinea. He found, in fact, that none of the fixed expatriate categories quite fitted him: he had absorbed, while in

875 Australia, enough of contemporary thought in literature, art and allied
659 subjects and enough general sophistication to fit only with difficulty in the society of missionaries, planters and officials. At the same time he was drawn to these groups because of his feeling that by coming to New Guinea he had joined the "have's" and left the "have-nots" behind. Though his bohemian background made him critical towards the colonial attitude to Papuans, he faced a difficult problem in working out his own. Both his own ambition and his wife's background (closer to the mission norm) predisposed him to avoid identification with the Papuans. On the other hand, when I met him, he still felt a little uneasy at playing the pukka sahib role which was certainly a betrayal of earlier principles. He was beginning to run into some difficulties with Papuans on the mission station and in the villages. During the year of our presence in Sivepe, he found what seemed an excellent solution by being elected a member of the Hikuturu Local Government Council.

647 Though membership is open to persons of any ethnic group, it
666 seemed at first as though Orokaiva would not vote for an Australian candidate. After all, they are well aware of the dangers of having their local affairs controlled by foreigners. But as the election approached, attitudes changed. Quite early, they had asked me to stand, [123] but I excused myself as I would not be staying long enough. A little later, the mission teacher heard that if he offered himself, he would get some support. He went to the villages of his ward on an electioneering tour and defeated the sitting member with a comfortable majority. [829] The motive of the electors, as I was told, was that this energetic young white man would be a good champion for Sasembata causes in a council which, in pragmatic terms, was still largely dominated by an Australian advisor. Furthermore, Orokaiva were well aware that their own power over the mission teacher had increased considerably since he depended on them for elective office. He and his wife could no longer treat any callers in an offhand fashion, for were they not also voters?

Section 2: Papuans from Other Districts

177 In our discussion of expatriates, we have shown that some kind of identification with Papuan values occurred in many of the most influential; this identification could either be positive, when the expatriate identified himself with the interests of the Orokaiva, or negative, when the expatriate used procedures not acceptable in his country of origin but effective in furthering his own interests in opposition to Orokaiva. For the Papuans, employed as pastors or in similar roles, and therefore resident among a strange tribe, the position was more complicated. Such a Papuan was not principally a mediator between his own indigenous culture and that of his new

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[231] problem—and one which the Orokaiva will not be equipped to solve when stocks of these animals are eventually restored. It seems fair to prophesy that as the people become habituated to living in the shadow of the volcano, many of them will quietly "hive off" from the present concentrations and go their familiar economic way. Alternatively, official opposition to this trend could produce growing tensions, including anti-Government hostility.

5. Other factors can be noted congruent with the above points. Some individuals are said to fear that in larger communities they will face more extensive demands for village maintenance and other Government and Mission needs than under the old patterns of settlement. Belahaw points to a complication of the labor situation in the resettlement areas due to a request by the Mission that its adherents devote some time to building new Mission stations in the area. [1978] As indices of the increasing normality of life, there is some revival of dancing and music, as well as keen sports interest.

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361 On the basis of such factors, the writer ventured to present to the Administrator and a group of his top officials a view opposed to a compulsive concentration policy. He suggested, instead, that three or four main "centers of attraction" be developed outside the danger zone and on the main road, corresponding to the principal ethnic concentrations (Sangara, Ixivita, Wasida). Here would be located sub-district offices, Government boarding schools, medical aid posts, community center houses, experimental garden plots, and other facilities. Housing space could be made available to those desiring to settle around such a center voluntarily and try out more concentrated and sedentary living. The Mission could also use such centers for their stations if it wished. The writer also recommended cutting a series of crossroads more or less at right angles to the main road, and locating each "center of attraction" at a main crossroad point. These secondary roads would serve to draw settlement away from the overcrowded chain of villages that have developed along the one main road. This plan would enable those people who do not wish to be concentrated to scatter out in a wider pattern of dispersal for garden development; it would offer quick routes of escape on foot or in vehicles in case of the threat of further eruptions, ready access for government welfare services, and for transporting commercial crops to market. The writer has subsequently been informed that these proposals in general correspond with the policy which was officially adopted—crossroads have been cut and government centers and facilities have been built up at three key points.

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799 The second problem referred to earlier, namely the delicate one of Government versus Mission responsibilities, will be discussed only briefly. The Mission teachers claim that the great majority of the mountain Orokaiva are adherents: those remaining outside the church do so by conscious choice. In the wake of the eruption the Anglican authorities sent in a very active, young Bishop who was familiar with the people, to take charge in place of the resident white staff killed at Sangara. Mission medical workers took over some of the important health responsibilities, including a Mission hospital at Oro Bay. "Native" Papuan Mission teachers started elementary vernacular schooling in the camps.

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This was in accordance with the official policy of the Territory that mission bodies shall normally handle at least the first four years of "village" level schooling. In such a major center as Ilimo, however, the question arose as to whether Government should step in to provide more adequate schooling facilities as part of its "community development" program. This was complicated by the fact that children of non-adherents had to come under the Mission teachers if they were to get schooling. The writer was told that in the morning these teachers went through the camp with switches to get children to school. Another potential conflict was foreshadowed at the time of the writer's visit by the Mission's decision to send in agricultural workers in the face of the active program of rehabilitation by Government technical officers.

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The writer gave it as his opinion that the Government should not abrogate its responsibilities in essential matters of rehabilitation, that it should insist on coordination rather than rivalry. It is understood that this view has been made policy, even in the face of the great sensitivity of Government in such delicate relationships that could reflect back in the form of criticism by religious groups in the metropolitan country. Government schools have been opened and the people are free to choose between them and the Mission institutions. Official medical services have become well organized. It will undoubtedly take time to unravel the question of the Mission role in agriculture, particularly as it is bound up with the religiously-oriented cooperative movement. There could be further new cults centered upon gardening and, as with various other post-war movements in the New Guinea area, these could be either pro- or anti-Government or Mission or both.¹⁰

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The possibility of transforming Orokaiva agriculture from the shifting to a sedentary basis deserves a special final word. A recent report of the Director of Agriculture stresses this problem as of prime importance to the development of

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10. Though extensive materials exist in unpublished official reports on post-war New Guinea cults (e.g., the Paliau movement in Manus, the Yali cult in Madang, the Toma Kaba cult in the Purari delta) very little has been published. Available references are Behshaw, C.S., "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development," *The Australian Outlook*, 4, 2, pp. 116-125 (1950); de Bruyn, J.V., "The Manusen Cult of Biak," *South Pacific* (Journal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney), 5, 1, pp. 1-10 (1950); Guiart, J., "Cargo Cults and Political Evolution in Melanesia," *South Pacific*, 5, 7, pp. 123-129 (1951); United Nations Mission, *Report of Visiting Mission, 1950* section on Paliau movement, reproduced in *South Pacific*, 4, pp. 207-208 (1950). A brief analysis of modern cults is given in Keesing, "Research Opportunities in New Guinea," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 2 (Summer, 1952).